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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8323
 INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 NAIROBI 09675

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, PREF, PINR, RW
 SUBJ: CONVERSATIONS WITH THE RPR

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH U.S. OBSERVER TO THE ARUSHA PEACE TALKS, RPF LEADERS AND DELEGATION MEMBERS
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 PORTRAYED THEIR MOVEMENT AS COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND TO BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC RWANDA, FREE OF ETHNICITY AND INJUSTICE. THEY BLAME PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FOR EXPLOITING ETHNIC AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN SPEECHES AND PROPAGANDA TO KEEP PEACE-LOVING RWANDANS AT EACH OTHER'S THROATS AND HIMSELF IN POWER. THEY HAVE EXPRESSED DISMAY OVER THE FRENCH ROLE IN THEIR COUNTRY AND THE CONVICTION THE RPF WILL WIN RWANDA'S MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS -- IN ABOUT TWO AND A HALF YEAR'S TIME. ALTHOUGH THEY TALK OF MASS EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, THEY ALSO

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SAY THE HUTU EXTREMIST PARTY, THE CDR, CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO PROPAGATE ITS IDEAS AND THAT THOSE WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THEM AND ASK FOR PARDON. END SUMMARY.

3. SINCE ARRIVING IN ARUSHA APRIL 17 AS U.S. OBSERVER TO THE RWANDAN PEACE TALKS, DCM/KIGALI, JOYCE LEADER HAS HAD MORE THAN 15 HOURS OF PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE HEAD OF THE RPF DELEGATION, PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, DEPUTY HEAD PATRICK MAZIMPAKA, AND VARIOUS OTHER MEMBERS OF THE RPF DELEGATION. THEIR COMMENTS ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES SUGGEST A MOVEMENT COMMITTED TO PEACE AND DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, INCLUDING A VIRTUAL OVERHAUL OF RWANDA'S INSTITUTIONS TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION BASED ON REGIONAL AND ETHNIC CONSIDERATION. MOST OF THE CONVERSATIONS WERE CONDUCTED IN ENGLISH, AS BIZIMUNGU AND MAZIMPAKA SPEAK FLUENT ENGLISH AS WELL AS FRENCH.

4. ETHNICITY. BOTH RPF LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERS MAINTAIN THAT ETHNICITY IN RWANDA IS AN INVENTION OF THE THE
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HABYARIMANA REGIME AIMED AT CREATING UNITY AMONG THE HUTU AND MAINTAINING CONTROL OF THE POPULATION. THE PEOPLE OF RWANDA HAVE ALWAYS LIVED TOGETHER PEACEFULLY, THEY CONTEND. PROBLEMS HAVE ARisen ONLY WHEN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN STIRRED UP. HABYARIMANA'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE IS ONE OF HATE, THEY SAY. HE STILL REFERS TO THE RPF AS THE "AGGRESSORS" AND THE "ENEMY." THE RPF MESSAGE TO THE DIASPORA, TO THE CONTRARY, IS NOT A MESSAGE OF HATRED FOR THE HUTU. IT IS ABOUT REDRESSING STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS IN RWANDAN SOCIETY, ABOUT CREATING A MERITOCRACY IN WHICH ACHIEVEMENT, NOT REGION OR ETHNICITY, COUNT. THE RPF, ITS LEADERS SAY, IS AGAINST A SYSTEM OF INJUSTICE, NOT AGAINST AN ETHNIC GROUP. THE RPF ADVOCATES RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE RULE OF LAW IN A RWANDA WHERE ALL RWANDANS ARE EQUAL UNDER THE LAW. THE RPF IS A MOVEMENT FOR RWANDA, NOT AGAINST THE HUTU, BOTH LEADERS AND MEMBERS CLAIM.

5. RECONCILIATION. WITH WHOM SHOULD RWANDANS RECONCILE, ASKED MAZIMPAKA. WITH THEMSELVES? RECONCILIATION BEGINS, HE SAID, WITH AN ADMISSION OF GUILT. AFTER ACKNOWLEDGING WRONG-DOING, ONE CAN ASK FOR PARDON. ONLY THEN CAN FORGIVENESS FOLLOW. ULTIMATELY, MAZIMPAKA SAID, RESPONSIBILITY LIES WITH HABYARIMANA.

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HE ALLEGED THAT, WHILE HE PROBABLY DID NOT ORDER ALL THE KILLINGS THAT HAVE OCCURRED, THE KILLINGS BEGAN WITH HIS ORDERS AND SPREAD ENCOURAGING OTHERS TO TAKE DECISIONS TO ELIMINATE PEOPLE, BOTH OPPONENTS AND COLLEAGUES WHO KNEW TOO MUCH. MAZIMPAKA NOTED THERE HAD BEEN PROBLEMS WITHIN THE RPF OVER ITS CALL FOR BURGOMASTERS TO RESIGN IN AREAS WHERE MASSACRES HAD OCCURRED. HOW CAN THE RPF
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DEMAND THAT, SOME ASKED, WITHOUT DEMANDING THE SAME OF THE PRESIDENT. COMMENT. THE RPF SIDESTEPPED THE QUESTION OF THE FORUM IN WHICH ADMISSIONS OF GUILT SHOULD BE MADE AND DOWNPLAYED THE POSSIBILITY OF VENGEANCE IN PLACE OF FORGIVENESS. END COMMENT.

6. MASISI MASSACRE. MAZIMPAKA CITED THE RECENT MASSACRE (APRIL 21-22) OF BANYARWANDA IN THE NORTH KIVU AREA KNOWN AS MASISI AS AN EXAMPLE OF HABYARIMANA'S

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 NAIROBI 09675

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MACHINATIONS. HE SAID HABYARIMANA HAS ALWAYS FOLLOWED RWANDAN REFUGEES INTO EXILE AND CAUSED PROBLEMS FOR THEM: FORCING THEM TO MOVE, SEEING THEY ARE DEPRIVED OF JOBS, THWARTING INTEGRATION. ZAIREAN AGENTS, HE SAID,
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HAVE OFTEN PROMOTED VIOLENCE AGAINST RWANDAN EXILES.

7. FEBRUARY ATTACK. PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU DEFENDED THE RPF DECISION TO ATTACK FEBRUARY 8 AS RETRIBUTION FOR THE JANUARY MASSACRES IN GISINYI. HE DISMISSED THE OBSERVATION THAT THE ATTACK HAD RAISED SERIOUS DOUBTS AMONG MANY RWANDANS ABOUT RPF'S INTENTIONS. TO THE CONTRARY, HE SAID, THE RPF WAS UNDER PRESSURE FROM MANY RWANDANS TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE MASSACRES. HE SAID MANY WANTED EVIDENCE THAT THE RPF WAS FOR THE PEOPLE, NOT JUST AFTER POWER.

8. DISPLACED PERSONS. DCM COMMENTED TO BIZIMUNGU THAT ONE MILLION DISPLACED PERSONS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE ATTACK SHOWED LITTLE CONCERN FOR THE PEOPLE. THE DISPLACED, HE COUNTERED, WERE NOT A RESULT OF THE WAR. THEY FLED BECAUSE OF HABYARIMANA'S NEGATIVE PROPAGANDA ABOUT THE RPF. HE RECALLED THE RPF'S RETREAT FROM MUTARA SHORTLY AFTER THE WAR BEGAN AND THE SUBSEQUENT MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS BY THE GOVERNMENT FORCES. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALWAYS BLAMED THESE MASSACRES ON THE RPF TO BUILD UP FEAR OF THE RPF. IN CONTRAST, HE POINTED TO THE 3,000 CIVILIANS WHO REMAINED WITH THE RPF BEFORE THE FEBRUARY ATTACK AND OTHERS WHO HAVE SINCE

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FLED TO THE RPF SIDE.

9. TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. BIZIMUNGU IS CONVINCED THAT RWANDA'S INTERNAL OPPOSITION PARTIES MADE A SERIOUS STRATEGIC ERROR BY AGREEING TO JOIN THE MULTI-PARTY TRANSITION GOVERNMENT FORMED IN APRIL 1992. HE BELIEVES THEY SHOULD HAVE REMAINED OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT IN AN

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ADVERSARY ROLE AND GAINED A SEAT AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. (COMMENT. HE COULD NOT SAY HOW THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE REACHED THE STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT. END COMMENT.) HE ALSO CONTENDED THAT, HAD THE OPPOSITION REMAINED OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE DEMONSTRATIONS, MORE VIOLENCE, AND HABYARIMANA WOULD NOW BE GONE. THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT HAS NO POWER, HE SAID; ARTICLE 36 OF THE CONSTITUTION PUTS THE ARMY, THE ADMINISTRATION, THE JUDICIARY, THE PARQUET, ALL IN THE HANDS OF THE PRESIDENT.

10. FRENCH ROLE. BIZIMUNGU CREDITED THE FRENCH WITH PUSHING THE OPPOSITION PARTIES INTO JOINING THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THE FRENCH HAD ALSO, IN JANUARY 1992, ADVISED HABYARIMANA TO ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT AS A STRATEGY FOR UNITING THE EMERGING POLITICAL PARTIES BEHIND HIM AND AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY, THE RPF. HABYARIMANA'S INTENTION IN FORMING THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, THE RPF CLAIMS, WAS NOT TO BROADEN THE BASE OF THE GOVERNMENT BUT TO BRING THE OPPOSITION PARTIES UNDER HIS CONTROL.

11. COMMON HUTU FRONT. BIZIMUNGU AND MAZIMPAKA CONTEND THAT HABYARIMANA'S STRATEGY OF CREATING A COMMON HUTU FRONT AGAINST THE TUTSI REMAINS ALIVE AND THAT THE FRENCH ARE STILL PROMOTING IT. THEY CLAIM THAT FRENCH COOPERATION MINISTER DEBARGE PROMOTED THIS STRATEGY WITH THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE VISITED RWANDA RECENTLY. THE RPF LEADERS BELIEVE THAT HABYARIMANA'S RESIGNATION AS MRND PRESIDENT SHOULD BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT: IT ALLOWS HIM TO

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REMAIN ALOOF FROM THE POLITICAL PARTY FRAY AND SERVE AS
A RALLYING POINT FOR ALL HUTU.

12. FRENCH FOR THE HUTU? BIZIMUNGU REPORTED A MEETING
IN WHICH JEAN CHRISTOPHE MITTERRAND TOLD THE RPF THAT
THE FRENCH COULD NOT ALLOW THE TUTSI TO REGAIN POWER IN
RWANDA WHEN A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION SUPPORTS
HABYARIMANA. THE RPF LEADERS SAID THEY HAD CHALLENGED
MITTERRAND TO ENCOURAGE HABYARIMANA TO OPEN THE RWANDAN
SYSTEM.

13. RPF RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. THE RPF LEADERS ASKED
THE U.S. OBSERVER HOW THE RPF COULD BE EXPECTED TO WORK

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WITH THE FRENCH WHO SEEMED UNINTERESTED IN HELPING ALL RWANDANS. MAZIMPAKA SAID RPF EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A DIALOGUE WITH FRANCE, AS SUGGESTED LAST JUNE BY DAS DAVIDOW, HAD COME TO NAUGHT. WE DON'T UNDERSTAND WHAT
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THEIR INTERESTS ARE, HE SAID. HE APPEALED FOR U.S. HELP IN FINDING A COMPROMISE BETWEEN FRENCH INTERESTS AND RPF INTERESTS. THE RPF LEADERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT MIGHT OFFER NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR DIALOGUE.

14. RPF AS A PARTY? MAZIMPAKA LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THE RPF INTENDS TO RECONSTITUTE ITSELF AS A POLITICAL PARTY UPON JOINING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN RWANDA. HE ALSO SAID THE RPF INTENDS TO WIN MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS, WHICH HE PREDICTED COULD TAKE PLACE IN ABOUT TWO AND A HALF YEARS. HE SAID THE LENGTH OF THE TRANSITION WOULD DEPEND ON HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE THE RPF TO BECOME IMPLANTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

15. ALLIANCES. ASKED IF THE RPF WOULD SEEK ALLIANCES WITH OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES TO ACHIEVE ELECTORAL VICTORY, MAZIMPAKA REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE. HE SAID HE COULD NOT ENVISION THE RPF ALIGNING ITSELF WITH ANY OF THE CURRENT OPPOSITION PARTIES BECAUSE OF THEIR LACK OF PRINCIPLES. HE DESCRIBED THE LIBERAL PARTY (PL) AS "ROTTEN TO THE CORE"; IT HAS BOTH TUTSI AND HUTU EXTREMISTS IN ITS RANKS AND NO COHESION. HE SAID HE HAD RECOMMENDED LAST YEAR TO PL PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI THAT THE PARTY DEVELOP A STATED POLICY ON ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS WHICH MEMBERS WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT OR LEAVE THE PARTY. SO FAR THE ADVICE HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN. THE MDR, HE SAID, MUST DECIDE WHICH WAY IT WILL GO, ALLUDING TO THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE MDR LIBERALS AND HARD LINERS. PSD, HE CHIDED, FALSELY THINKS IT'S PURE IN ITS IDEOLOGY. ASKED IF THE RPF THOUGHT IT MIGHT DRAW
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MEMBERS FROM OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES ONCE IT WAS
OPERATING LEGALLY INSIDE RWANDA, MAZIMPAKA GAVE A
RESOUNDING "YES." HE CITED THE CURRENT FRAGILITY IN THE
COHESION OF MOST OF RWANDA'S MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES,
AS A REASON WHY THE RPF WANTS A RAPID END TO NEGOTIATIONS.

16. SELLING THE PEACE. THE U.S. OBSERVER ASKED
MAZIMPAKA WHAT, IF ANY, PLANS THE RPF HAD TO BUILD
CREDIBILITY AMONG THE RWANDAN PEOPLE IN THE RPF AND THE
PEACE PROCESS ONCE THE RPF JOINS THE GOVERNMENT. HE
SAID THAT THE RPF WILL LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN OF EXPLAINING
THE ARUSHA PROTOCOLS AND THEIR MEANING IN THE DIASPORA.
RPF RADIO, RADIO MUHUBURA, WILL BE USED AS WELL TO REACH
PEOPLE INSIDE RWANDA. HE SAID THAT THE RPF IS ALREADY
WORKING ON DEVELOPING A MASS EDUCATION CAMPAIGN TO TAKE
THE MESSAGE TO PEACE AND TOLERANCE TO THE RURAL AREAS
ONCE IT HAS JOINED THE GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THE RPF WILL
ASK OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT, SO
IT WOULDN'T BE JUST AN RPF CAMPAIGN.

17. RADIO MUHUBURA. MAZIMPAKA CONFIRMED THAT THE RPF
RADIO STATION IS ALREADY OPERATING INSIDE RWANDA. AFTER
A PEACE ACCORD IS SIGNED, THE RPF HOPES TO RETAIN THE
STATION, IF RWANDAN LAW Allows. HE SUGGESTED THE RPF
WOULD WANT TO WORK OUT WAYS FOR OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES
TO USE AIR TIME. THE STATION BEGAN, HE SAID, WITH A USD
30,000 OR SO DONATION FROM A SWISS PERSON WHO HAS
DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN RWANDA. HE DID NOT NAME THE
PERSON, BUT SAID THE RPF BENEFACTOR THEN INFORMED THE
PRESIDENT OF HIS GIFT.

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18. WOMEN IN THE "NEW RWANDA." THE RPF HELD A 3-WEEK
WOMEN'S CONFERENCE INSIDE RWANDA IN EARLY APRIL THAT
DREW WOMEN FROM THE RWANDAN DIASPORA THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD. THE TOPIC WAS "THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE NEW
RWANDA." (HE HAS PROMISED TO PROVIDE U.S. OBSERVER A
"SANITIZED" REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE AND MAY PUT HER IN
CONTACT WITH A PARTICIPANT WHO LIVES IN ARUSHA.)

19. NDI SEMINAR. BIZIMUNGU ENDORSED THE IDEA OF RPF

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PARTICIPATION IN AN NDI-ORGANIZED SEMINAR ON
PARTY-BUILDING, NOTING THAT MOBILIZATION OF PEOPLE IS
THE CORNERSTONE OF RPF ACTIVITIES. HE SAID THAT THIS
PROCLIVITY, IMPLEMENTED IN THE BUFFER ZONE, HAD BEEN

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20. U.S. OBSERVER POINTS. IN THE COURSE OF THESE CONVERSATIONS, THE U.S. OBSERVER MADE THE FOLLOWING CONFIDENTIAL

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POINTS TO HER VARIOUS INTERLOCUTORS:

-- THE RPF CANNOT AFFORD TO ALIENATE THE FRENCH.

-- VIOLENCE AS A POLITICAL TOOL IS UNACCEPTABLE.

-- THE FEBRUARY 8 ATTACK RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT RPF INTENTIONS AND ITS COMMITMENT TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

-- THE ATTACK WEAKENED RPF SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FROM RWANDA'S INTERNAL OPPOSITION.

-- ETHNIC MISTRUST, EVEN HATRED, IS DEEP-ROOTED, REGARDLESS OF HOW IT DEVELOPED. IT NEEDS TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY AND ADDRESSED IN THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS, NOT DISMISSED AS NONEXISTENT.

-- LIKEWISE, MISTRUST AND FEAR OF THE RPF IS WIDESPREAD. HOW DOES THE RPF PLAN TO OVERCOME THIS?

-- REPRESSION OF EXTREMIST VIEWS, SUCH AS THOSE OF THE CDR, COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. THE TRICK WILL BE TO BRING PEOPLE ESPousing SUCH VIEWS INTO THE NEW SYSTEM, TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO REALIZE THAT THEY CAN PARTICIPATE IN AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS.

21. COMMENT. THE RPF DELEGATION AT ARUSHA APPEARS DISCIPLINED, HARD-WORKING AND COMMITTED TO RESHAPING RWANDAN SOCIETY TO BE MORE JUST. IT IS UNCLEAR, HOWEVER, WHETHER THIS DISCIPLINE WILL BE COMPATIBLE WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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ITS STATED COMMITMENT TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES. END COMMENT.

22. BIO DATA. PATRICK MAZIMPAKA WAS 14 YEARS OLD IN 1960 WHEN HE FLED RWANDA WITH HIS MOTHER AND LITTLE

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BROTHER FROM THEIR HOME ON A CHURCH SCHOOL COMPOUND IN A KIBUNGO COMMUNE AT THE EAST END OF LAKE MUHABI. HE SAID BELGIAN SOLDIERS, PART OF A U.N. FORCE, MARCHED INTO THE COMPOUND, ENTERED HIS HOME, TORE THE PLACE APART, AND "ROUGHED UP" HIS MOTHER. HIS FATHER, A PREACHER, WAS AWAY AT THE TIME. BEHIND THE SOLDIERS CAME RWANDANS WHO SET FIRE TO HIS HOUSE. SINCE THEN, HE HAS LIVED IN TANZANIA, KENYA, UGANDA, AND CANADA. HIS WIFE, A TUTSI FROM SOUTHWESTERN UGANDA, LIVES WITH THEIR THREE DAUGHTERS, AGED 16, 14, AND 11 IN SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA.
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